

Message Text

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ORIGIN NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

USIE-00 CCO-00 INRE-00 M-03 A-01 SY-07 OPR-02 PM-09

H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

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DRAFTED BY NEA/ ARN: EPDJEREJIAN: JFC

21019 4/11/73

APPROVED BY NEA - MR. ATHERTON

NEA/ ARN - MR. KORN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

USINT CAIRO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 068056

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PFOR, US, LE

SUBJECT: ALLEGATIONS OF US COMPLICITY IN ISRAELI RAID

REF: BEIRUT 4220

1. DEPARTMENT SERIOUSLY CONCERNED OVER PLAY BY LEBANESE PRESS OF CHARGES OF US COLLUSION IN APRIL 9 ISRAELI RAIDS IN LEBANON. WE HAVE NOTED EDITORIAL IN AL MUHARRIR CONTAINED IN REFTEL WHICH STATES " ENEMY SHOULD BE CHASED EVERYWHERE AND STRUCK WITHOUT MERCY... AS OF TODAY PALESTINIAN OPERATIONS SHOULD INCLUDE AMERICANS WHO ARE SNAKES HEAD AND MAIN CAUSE OF AFFLICTION."

2. IN LIGHT OF THESE INFLAMMATORY PRESS STATEMENTS AND PAMPHLETS BEING DISTRIBUTED IN BEIRUT CONTAINING SIMILAR ALLEGATIONS OF US COMPLICITY, REQUEST YOU TAKE THIS MATTER CONFIDENTIAL

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UP WITH GOL AND URGE LEBANESE AUTHORITIES TO TAKE STEPS TO TONE DOWN THESE WILD ACCUSATIONS WHICH CAN HAVE HARMFUL

REPERCUSSIONS ON U. S. PERSONNEL AND INSTALLATIONS IN LEBANON AND IN AREA. YOU SHOULD SAY USG REALIZES THESE PUBLICATIONS ARE NOT OFFICIAL GOL MEDIA, BUT BELIEVE GOL DOES HAVE POWER TO RESTRAIN LEBANESE PUBLISHERS IN VIEW OF SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS THESE GROUNDLESS CHARGES NOT ONLY FOR U.

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LEADERSHIP IS WELL QUALIFIED TO FULFILL THAT TASK. EXTENT TO WHICH VISIT ASSISTS HIM WILL BE IMPORTANT MEASURE OF ITS SUCCESS IN US TERMS. END SUMMARY.

3. ANDREOTTI'S "CENTRIST" GOVERNMENT WAS BORN LAST SUMMER IN RESPONSE TO POPULAR DISILLUSIONMENT WITH CENTER-LEFT VOICED IN EARLY ELECTION OF MAY 1972. EARLY YEARS OF CENTER-LEFT DECADE HAD BEEN PERIOD OF HOPE, PROMISE, AND SOME ACCOMPLISHMENT, WHICH FACILITATED PARALLEL EFFORT TO REUNITE SOCIALISTS (PSI) AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS (PSDI) IN SINGLE PARTY. BUT UNITY PROVED UNWORKABLE, AND THE BREAKUP OF THE UNIFIED PARTY IN 1969 WAS FOLLOWED BY A SHARP MOVEMENT OF THE SOCIALISTS BACK TOWARD THE LEFT.

4. IN 1972 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS CAMPAIGNED ON A PLATFORM OF "CENTRALITY", I. E. A DISSOLUTION OF PREVIOUS PREFERENTIAL BOND WITH PSI AND A DECLARED WILLINGNESS TO RESUME THEIR PRE-CENTER-LEFT PARTNERSHIP WITH THE LIBERAL PARTY (PLI). THIS OPEN POLICY REVERSAL SUCCESSFULLY AVOIDED DC LOSSES IN THE MAY BALLOTING, THE OVERALL RESULTS OF WHICH REVEALED BROAD POPULAR REJECTION OF SOCIALIST DESIGNS TO LEGITIMATE THE PCI. UNFORTUNATELY A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF THAT PROTEST WAS EXPRESSED IN A NEAR-DOUBLING OF SEATS BY THE ULTRA-RIGHT MSI, AN UNACCEPTABLE GOVERNMENT PARTNER.

5. ANDREOTTI'S CABINET HAS SHOWN CONSIDERABLE CAPACITY TO WORK TOGETHER AND TO AGREE UPON PROGRAMS AND POLICIES. PAST NINE MONTHS HAVE SEEN PASSAGE OF IMPORTANT GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED LEGISLATION IN FIELDS OF PENSIONS, SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS, FLOOD RELIEF AND TAX MEASURES. MORE IMPORTANTLY, GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN INITIAL STEPS TOWARD LONG- SOUGHT REFORM IN SENSITIVE AREA OF UNIVERSITY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL REFORM, AND REFORM OF THE HEALTH SERVICES. GOVERNMENT ALSO PLAYED MAJOR AND EFFECTIVE HAND IN RESOLUTION OF FALL AND WINTER LABOR DISPUTES, WHICH POSED SERIOUS THREAT TO NATIONAL PRODUCTIVITY.

6. ANDREOTTI INSISTS THAT HIS GOVERNMENT IS NOT PROVISIONAL OR STOPGAP, AND THAT HE WILL RESIGN ONLY UPON FORMAL PARLIAMENTARY VOTE OF NO-CONFIDENCE. HOWEVER, ITALY'S ECONOMY HAS NOT REBOUNDED FROM SLUMP OF RECENT YEARS WHICH IS A CONTINUING PROBLEM FOR THE GOVERNMENT. MOREOVER, THERE ARE GROWING COMPLAINTS THAT THE

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NARROWNESS OF THE MAJORITY WILL BLOCK ACTION ON NEEDED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MEASURES.

7. EXCLUSION FROM GOVERNMENT AFTER TEN YEARS OF POWER CAME AS RUDE SHOCK TO SOCIALIST PARTY WHICH IS NOW SPLIT INTO TWO ALMOST EQUAL FACTIONS. AT PARTY' S NOVEMBER 1972 CONGRESS IN GENOA A NARROW MAJORITY (DE MARTINO- AUTONOMISTS) DECLARED PARTY' S " AVAILABILITY" FOR NEW CENTER- LEFT. SINCE CONGRESS, MAJORITY HAS DONE LITTLE TO ADVANCE PSI FROM " AVAILABLE" TO " DESIRABLE" IN EYES OF PROSPECTIVE CENTER- LEFT PARTNERS. ON CONTRARY, PSI HAS MAINTAINED OR RE- FORMED ALLIANCES WITH COMMUNISTS IN MANY LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, AND HAS ALLIED ITSELF TACTICALLY WITH PCI IN FULL- SCALE PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION.

8. SOCIALISTS WHO LOOK TOWARD RENEWED CENTER- LEFT ARE NOT WITHOUT COUNTERPARTS IN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY. SOME WITHIN PARTY' S THREE LEFT- WING FACTIONS SUBSTANTIALLY SHARE MANY SOCIALIST VIEWS AND WOULD NOT OBJECT TO COMMUNIST " CONTRIBUTIONS" TO GOVERNING PROCESS. OTHERS, WITHIN PARTY MAJORITY, HOLD STRONGLY OPPOSITE VIEW, YET ARE GENUINELY CONCERNED ABOUT CONTINUED SOCIALIST AUTONOMY FROM COMMUNISTS SHOULD PSI REMAIN LONG OUT OF GOVERNMENT.

9. PARTY' S JUNE CONGRESS, THEREFORE, WILL BE A TESTING PLACE FOR THOSE WHO FAVOR AND THOSE WHO RESIST A NEW DC- PSI ALLIANCE. VERY FEW OF EITHER PROCLIVITY WOULD PHRASE THE ISSUE IN CLEAR- :75 " YES OR NOT" TERMS; ONLY A HANDFUL WOULD BECLOUD THE SITUATION BY ABANDONING ANDREOTTI NOW, NOR DOES ANDREOTTI HIMSELF CATEG- ORICALLY FORECLOSE EVENTUAL RESTORATION OF DC- PSI COLLABORATION. RATHER, THEIR DIFFERENCES TEND TO CENTER UPON THE CONDITIONS AND TERMS WHICH EACH WOULD IMPOSE UPON THE PSI, AND IN THE STRENGTH OF THEIR DECLARED DETERMINATIONS TO MAKE SUCH TERMS STICK. IT IS FAR TOO EARLY TO PREDICT THE OUTCOME OF THE JUNE CONGRESS, BUT IT IS ALREADY CLEAR THAT A MAJORITY FAVORS RETENTION OF ANDREOTTI UP TO, AND PERHAPS BEYOND, THE JUNE PARTY CONCLAVE UNTIL THE DC IS SURE OF ITS OWN FUTURE COURSE AND FORTUNES.

10. IT IS AGAINST ABOVE BACKDROP OF DC' S PRE- CONGRESSIONAL MANEUVERING THAT VICE- PRIME MINISTER TANASSI ISSUED SOCIAL DEMOCRAT BID TO EXPLORE IMMEDIATELY RENEWAL OF THE CENTER- LEFT. HIS MOTIVES WOULD SEEM TO INCLUDE DESIRE NOT TO LET DC MOVE
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TO THE LEFT AHEAD OF THE PSI, WHILE AT SAME TIME SHIELDING SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FROM BLAME SHOULD PSI' S OPPOSITION ROLE EVENTUALLY LEAD IT BACK UNDER COMMUNIST DOMINATION. PSDI LEADERS HAVE GIVEN AMPLE NOTICE THEY WILL IMPOSE STRICT DEMANDS UPON PSI AND

PROMISE THEY WILL STAY WITH ANDREOTTI UNTIL FULLY ACCEPTABLE
ALTERNATIVE IS AT HAND.

11. ANDREOTTI AND DC PARTY SECRETARY FORLANI HAVE PRESIDED OVER
DIFFICULT PERIOD DURING WHICH DC DRIFT, AND LACK OF UNITY AND
WILL, HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGINGLY ARRESTED. WE BELIEVE POSSIBILITY
FOR REASONABLY COMPACT AND HEALTHY DC IS ESSENTIAL AS BASIS
FOR DEMOCRATIC, NATO ORIENTED AND PRO- AMERICAN ITALY, AND
THAT ANDREOTTI- FORLANI COMBINATION IS AT THIS TIME PERHAPS
THE BEST TEAM TO LEAD DC. WE KNOW VISIT WILL HAVE POSITIVE
EFFECT ON ANDREOTTI, WHO IS ALREADY VERY FAVORABLY DISPOSED
TOWARD US AND US GOALS. IT SHOULD ALSO STRENGTHEN HIS HAND ON
POLITICAL SCENE HERE. VOLPE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 07 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 APR 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE068056
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: NEA/ ARN: EPDJEREJIAN: JFC
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730460/abqceigt.tel
Line Count: 178
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN NE
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: BEIRUT 4220
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 17 SEP 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17-Sep-2001 by shawdg>; APPROVED <03-Jan-2002 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 971229
Subject: ALLEGATIONS OF US COMPLICITY IN ISRAELI RAID
TAGS: PFOR, PINS, LE, US
To: BEIRUT INFO AMMAN
CAIRO
JIDDA
TEL AVIV
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005